PICTURES OF THE SAN FRANCISCO ABOLITION DEMONSTRATION . . . Pages 6-7

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WHAT ABOUT THE SUMMIT?

Gloom at the top: The ghost of Dulles stalks Washington

By Kumar Goshal

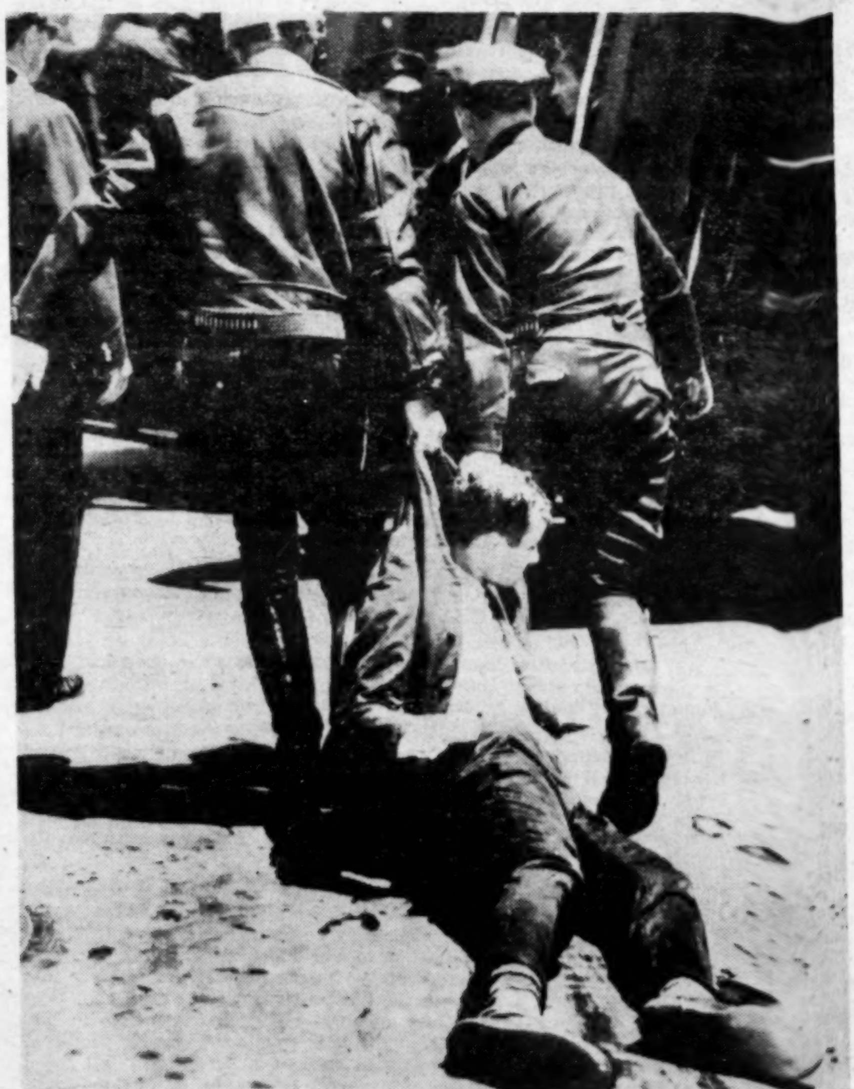
THE GLOW of spring sunshine failed to penetrate the gray atmosphere of distrust and anger in which the Summit meeting attempted to open on May 16 in Paris. International tension had become strained to the snapping point, and U.S. brinkmanship, presumed to have been interred with John Foster Dulles, had been startlingly revived. Pre-conference predictions of the outcome had been overwhelmingly pessimistic. They were soon confirmed.

After a stormy three-hour session, the opening Summit session ended in a deadlock. Soviet Premier Khrushchev demanded from President Eisenhower—as a precondition for continuing the meeting—(1) an apology for the espionage flight of May 1; (2) assurances that the flights would be discontinued and, (3) that those responsible for the May Day violation of Soviet air space would be punished.

Eisenhower then announced, to everyone's surprise, that he had ordered the flights to be halted on May 12, but rejected Khrushchev's other demands. At GUARDIAN press time, British Prime Minister Macmillan and De Gaulle were still attempting to start the stalled conference, but Khrushchev was still asking

(Continued on Page 8)

WHO'S PRESIDENT—THE MAN OR THE MISSILE?
Mr. Eisenhower relaxes at Ft. Benning before the Summit



FREE SPEECH AND THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY IN SAN FRANCISCO
A student pays the price of protesting the Un-American Committee

THE SAN FRANCISCO FIGHT-BACK

Mass protests may have put Un-Americans on the skids

By Robert E. Light

IT WILL COST the city of San Francisco about $1,000 to clean the water and blood stains from the City Hall marble staircase, but no amount of maintenance will erase the memory of the visit of the House Committee on Un-American Activities May 12-14.

The committee came to town an unwanted guest and left a despised marauder. During its stay it provoked the worst riot in 15 years during which students and others were hosed and clubbed. What semblance of purpose the committee could pretend to was lost at San Francisco.

Never in its 27-year history has the committee faced such mass opposition. More than 5,000 people, including church and labor leaders, protested its visit. The hostile reception guaranteed that the committee will not return soon to San Francisco. But it may also have sounded the first notes of taps for the Un-Americans.

DRAGNET OPERATION: Last year the committee subpenaed 40 Northern California teachers for hearings in San Francisco. But public outcry caused delay and later cancellation of the hearings. Instead, the committee turned over the names of 93 "suspect" employes to the California Dept. of Education for a local investigation. In recent months seven teachers were fired or asked to resign.

Last month the committee announced that it would hold hearings on "current operations" of the Communist Party in Northern California. It subpenaed 48 persons, including some of the teachers called previously and a lawyer who repre-

(Continued on Page 6)

In this issue

W. E. B. Du BOIS
A program for sanity
(Page 3)
DAVID WESLEY
The hoax of inspection
(Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Von Braun in focus

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

I was intrigued by the television program, "The Race for Space."

It was well done and brought back memories of the horror that was London in World War II. It also brought into focus the part played by our fair-haired boy Von Braun, who while aiming for the stars, hit London.

I for one cannot so easily forget Von Braun's part in those fateful days. It was Von Braun who received the praise from Hitler when London civilians, hospitals, schools, churches, as well as children, women and old men were being murdered daily by the rockets created and perfected by Von Braun.

Albert King

The Ten

CHINO, CALIF.

We accepted Germany at once, in toto, even before the human bake ovens had cooled.

But the Hollywood Ten, who were convicted only of upholding the First Amendment of our precious Constitution, shall not be allowed to earn a living in the U.S.A. No siree!

I hope for my country that it will awaken to facts and stop pointing to the evils of others and begin to correct some of our own.

Agnes E. Roche

Humphrey and the Left

LYNN, MASS.

Congratulations on the article by Robert E. Light on Sen. Humphrey and his activities here in the G.E. election.

It is absolutely necessary to have such articles, since many of our friends on the Left are "buying" Hubert at face value. I read in **The Worker** where Gus Hall said that Senator Humphrey's "stand on the question of peace has taken a sharp turn for the better." Mr. Hall also said that "of all candidates, Humphrey has the most advanced stand on the civil right issue."

Can it be that our friends on the Left haven't heard of Willy Brandt who uses an occasional liberal speech to help prevent a settlement on Berlin? Isn't it true that our "liberal" Democrats are being used as the American version of the right wing Social-Democrats in Europe?

D. T.

Spying and politics

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The sturdy solidarity of Republicans & Democrats in support of spying missions again underlines the fact that the real need in the forthcoming elections is independent candidates to speak up for international sanity. However few votes such candidates receive, their election campaigns carry arguments beyond the smoke-filled backrooms to influence the masses of people.

Mr. Hall of the Communist Party seemed to indicate in his speech reprinted recently in the **Worker** that the Communists are willing to settle for a Humphrey in 1960. How much better it would be if they would put one of their own leaders forward as a presidential peace candidate.

Muriel McAvoy

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

It was an ironic turn of events that Syngman Rhee, whom history will record as a great patriot and father of the republic he created, should himself at this time of life be the cause of the uprising. I would like to say this to the Korean people, who know how I feel toward them as a brave and free people, that they must have learned their lesson in democracy well under Syngman Rhee, to rise up even against him to preserve their democracy.

—Harry S. Truman in the **Cleveland Plain Dealer,** May 8

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.L.N., Cleveland, Ohio.

That three-mile limit

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A recent story reported that during maneuvers U.S. submarines spotted a Soviet trawler 60 miles off the U.S. coast.

It may be that this news belongs in the category of stories used by the Navy to boost its share in our staggering military budget. But assuming that the report of the exact whereabouts of the Soviet vessel was correct, it discloses a strange frame of mind.

A few weeks ago an international convention ended with no results on account of the opposition of the majority of nations to the proposals of the big Western powers to limit to a minimum the extent of international waters. Consequently, the United States declared unilaterally that it recognizes only three miles from shore as being international waters.

This sensitivity to the danger to us from others and disregard for the sensitivity of other countries to the danger from us contributes in high degree to the maintenance of present tension. It goes without saying that such an attitude in present world affairs is loaded with many real dangers which can bring us easily over the brink to the mutual catastrophe.

A. R.

Claude Williams' work

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Rev. Claude Williams is now in the middle of the most critical situation we have yet seen.

There are two aspects of this crisis:

- The student sit-down strikes, in a place like Birmingham, have brought to the surface the very worst in racial hatred and police-state methods.
- The Air Force manual controversy has brought into the open the bitterness and hate felt by the conservative religious groups toward religious leaders who preach and practice "subversive" things like brotherhood!

Claude has been writing new charts with which to help Southern grass-roots preachers. The theme of "Racism plus anti-Semitism equals Nazi-Fascism" has taken on a new urgency in the South, and has developed it with great fervor. These charts are now being illustrated and off-set in New York, and will soon be in the hands of hundreds of fundamentalist leaders.

We know you appreciate the importance of Claude's contribution and the tremendous need for him to continue to make it. Won't you help him with a contribution now, to support his work and give him encouragement in this critical time.

Marion S. Davidson, Secretary
Claude Williams Committee
Box 29, Old Chelsea Station
New York 11, N.Y.

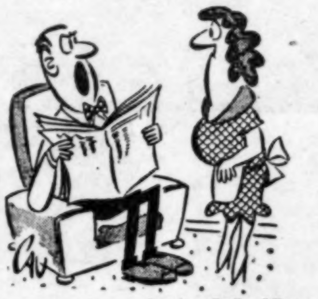
Florida shellacking

PENSACOLA, FLA.

I want to call to your attention the fact that in the Florida election one Harvey Belser and one Bill Kendrick, candidates for governor, whose main plank and whose platform was hatred of the Negro (the latter being an open leader of the Ku Klux Klan, and the former not much better) both took an awful beating, with votes respectively of 20,844 and 8,789 in a field where there were approximately 860,000 votes cast.

It seems to me this is significant.

John M. Coe



London Daily Mirror

"What do you mean let's holiday abroad?—We can't even afford to stay here!"

The Burnham Fund

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

This contribution to the Louis E. Burnham Fund is made by two friends of the late Gus Power, who died April 12 of lung cancer. We feel that this is a fitting expression to honor the memory of our friend. Not only was he an ardent suporter of the GUARDIAN, but a dedicated fighter against all forms of social injustice as well.

David Buchanan
Harry Shermis

•

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Enclosed is my contribution to the Louis E. Burnham Fund. Louis Burnham's writings and appearances at meetings impressed me deeply.

It seems to me he left his family a precious heritage, the memories of his convictions for a better world.

Harriet Fahey

Contributions may be sent to the Burnham Fund, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y. Editor.

Mississippi too?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have received many orders as a result of your review of my jamphlet on the Negro Senator of Reconstruction days, Hiram Revels, **The Gentleman from Mississippi.** The interesting thing is that I am getting orders from the deep South enclosing a clipping of your review.

Elizabeth Lawson
Box 316, Times Square Sta.
New York 36, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"I BLESS EVERYONE, each man and each woman, who fights for peace. That is the aim and target for which the United Nations stands."—UN Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie in Moscow last week.

The Soviet Union is "willing and prepared to negotiate on the problems that divide East and West." This, according to the New York **Times** correspondent, was the fact established by Trygve Lie's mission to Moscow. Tht **Times** reported:

"Mr. Lie returns to the West firmly convinced that the door to a negotiated settlement of the 'cold war' has not been slammed shut, and that on both sides there exists a strong basic desire to take steps that will insure world peace and end the threat of a third World War."

—From the National Guardian, May 24, 1950

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Dorothy Miller, Russ Nixon (Washington), Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans, PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent). NORTHERN CALIFORNIA representative: Clarence Vickland, 3936 Canon Ave., Oakland 2, Calif. Phone: KE 3-7776. DETROIT representative: Ben Kocel, 140 Winona, Highland Park 3, Mich. Phone: TO 6-7523.

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REPORT TO READERS

An end to lunacy

PERHAPS THE MOST DEPRESSING aspect of the events that took place May 16 in Paris, as the Summit conference held its abortive opening meeting, was the near-unanimity with which the U.S. press, radio and TV rallied behind the incredible American position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

With sickening conformity the commentators and the editorial writers—with a few notable exceptions—wiped out the denials and the lies of the last two weeks, the bragging and the arrogant threats, and began reporting the beginning of history as of May 16, 1960.

This was the situation that faced the nation: On May 1 an American espionage plane was shot down deep in Soviet territory. In rapid succession the United States government denied the existence of such an expedition, accused the Soviet Union of murdering a defenseless pilot, said that no espionage was involved in any case, then turned about to say of course it was espionage, that it would continue, and it was none of the Soviets' business if we violated their territory since we were thereby protecting the peace of the world. All this was on the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the White House press secretary, the State Department, and finally the President of the United States.

Then, to top off the insult, even as the four heads of state were sitting down for the first time, the Secretary of Defense touched off a global combat readiness alert—supposedly secret—which leaked out and almost caused another Orson Welles invasion hysteria.

THUS, WHEN PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV sounded off at the first session in Paris, he had terribly valid grounds for being boiling mad. His insistence on an apology was proper: the insult was not on his side—as the press insists—but on the side of the President for telling him that his people had no sovereignty in their own land. The wrecking came not from Moscow—as the press insists—but from Washington, and it did not begin on May 1 after what the press and even the most liberal politicians called an "unfortunate" piece of timing; it came, as Kumar Goshal documents on p. 1, W. E. B. Du Bois on p. 3, David Wesley on p. 4, and Victor Perlo and Carl Marzani on p. 9—it came through a systematic and deliberate policy of provocation and threat which has been going on for 15 years.

For the President to try to weasel out of the situation on May 16 by announcing that we had decided on May 12 to prohibit further incursions of Soviet territory—but held up the announcement till after Mr. Khrushchev's Dutch Uncle talk—was the sheerest kind of improvisation. For the President only a few days earlier had issued a strong statement endorsing the espionage flights, and Vice President Nixon on May 15 had done the same. As a matter of fact nobody was more surprised by the President's backtracking in Paris than official Washington.

AS THIS IS WRITTEN, the outcome of the Summit conference is in doubt. The international situation has without question taken a sharp turn for the worse, and it will take plenty of doing to get the show back on Relaxation Road.

In a situation like this, revealing as it does the open bad faith of American policy, there is a grave danger that a hare-brained brass hat can trigger a holocaust.

This is a fact which has not penetrated the hides of the lickspittle communications network of this country. To support a lie and then to support the confessed liar is setting the freedom of press on its head. Then, to cheer the liar when he says he's going to spit in his victim's face to boot, is a marvelous display of idiocy. And finally to scream that the spitter's victim is a provocateur really calls for an SOS for the man in the white coat.

DANGEROUS AS THE SITUATION IS, the editors of this newspaper have never lost faith that the basic good sense of the people of this nation will ultimately contain the lunatics. Our view of history is longer than that of our more prosperous colleagues. Even as the young Negroes of the South have taken matters into their own hands and drawn the line on the racists; even as the people of San Francisco—young and old—have told the witch-hunters that they have gone far enough—it is time for the wise people of America to take foreign policy in their own hands and call for a nation-wide demonstration for peace—sitting in or sitting down, standing up or marching, talking, praying or meditating in silence, but insisting on an end to the national lunacy.—**THE GUARDIAN**

DEMOCRACY MUST BE RESTORED TO THE U.S.

A program of reason, right and justice for today

By W. E. B. Du Bois

DAILY LATELY AS I READ the morning news, I find myself asking if age is driving me a bit crazy or if I'm living in a crazy nation. I have lived through much history and read far more, but I can remember no situation which parallels the present. Governments and rulers have always lied. But never with the quick, bland, easy assurance such as our transformation of a spying trip which failed into a weather exploration—and then blaming the Soviet Union for "propaganda." We have only to scan our magazines to see how the United States is being transformed from an unsophisticated people of original Tinkers and Thinkers to a nation of Liars and Buyers.

President Eisenhower continues to astonish me. Yesterday this Delphic oracle came from the golf links: "We never enslaved anyone." Today we learn that Turkey is not our spy base but a "bastion of Freedom," where the NATO of the "Free World" dares not stay long enough to hear the President's welcome, because Prime Minister Menderes is trying to outrun angry students threatening his life.

Right here I draw a breath of relief. Students at last to the rescue, even in the West. I had lost faith in them as during the McCarthy nightmare I spoke at a few institutions and looked into their blank faces. But today young seekers after knowledge live again despite a woeful lack of teachers. Not only in Turkey, which we have purchased, but in Japan where they defy Prime Minister Kishi's plan to tie Nippon to the Pentagon; and in South Korea where they have driven a demagogue out of power.

OF COURSE I AM ESPECIALLY uplifted by the revolt of Negro students in America. With neither leadership nor encouragement from their own people (despite all the declarations of the johnnie-come-lately-lies frantically scrambling aboard the bandwagon), alone and unaided they put their finger on a vital spot and acted. Our Negro Problem is not simply disfranchisement, lynching, mob-law, court injustice and widespread serfdom with poverty and disease: it is a daily, unending series of petty, senseless insults carried out almost everywhere, and always by civilized people of religion and culture, for no earthly reason except senseless meanness and neglect.

In the South a Negro goes downtown to buy a few necessities, and can't buy a bite to eat; he can't get a drink; he can't go to a movie; sometimes he can't sit in a park; and of course he can't bathe in the ocean, as in Biloxi, in the most ignorant state of the Union, where there are 26 miles of beach. Black students—not agitators, not even radicals, since little economics or social science is taught in Southern schools—just honest, clear-headed youth who one day say: "We buy our school books and paper at Woolworth's; why not buy a sandwich?"

Then the proud, cultured South goes berserk. Boys and girls are arrested, clubbed and jailed. Churches sing, pray and send Billy Graham to Africa. Still students "sit down." Then Big Business moves in. It threatens colored college presidents. Some, like Wright of Fisk, refuse to yield. Some, like Trenholm of Alabama, crawl. Then Big Business squeezes parents and some parents, to save their jobs, plead with their children; but at least at one colored college 4,000 students withdraw while their president skulks. They threaten to put a white president in at Lincoln who will teach Negroes their place. They may try this at Howard. They may starve Fisk. What will result? Will the students fall back into line? I think not. Some white students feel the glorious possibilities of this day; but the nation is silent and dumb.

ARE WE HAPPY AT ALL THIS? No, America is scared to death. Asia has arisen. Africa arises. The Soviet Union marches on. East Europe is triumphant. Cuba is free. Panama and Latin America follow. But the United States is stubborn.

We lie about China and support a man on her borders to attack her whom we ourselves have called a scoundrel. We invest six hundred million dollars in slave labor and stolen gold, diamonds and uranium in South Africa where our Boer allies have 18,000 Negroes in jail and ten million more fated to be hammered into slavery. We woo Adenauer to preserve a Germany which our army, with the help of the leader of the AFL-CIO, fashioned as a threat for a Third World War to conquer the Soviets. We bribe Franco, cajole Italy and, as long as possible, we will hang on to Trujillo. We are intriguing in Viet-Nam and Laos and praying for war between India and China, which fails to occur.

Signs of disaster gather about our heads. We are unable to sell enough abroad to pay for what we buy and have been compelled to spend four billions in the last two years out of our hoard of gold to pay the deficit. Our cost of living rises continuously and unemployment spreads, despite our ingenious efforts to deceive the public. The gamblers of the stock market are sweating in vain to unload on the suckers the inflated values of our monopolized industry. We are soaking the sick with high-priced medicines and hospital fees beyond the reach of the poor. We are bribing our skilled labor with high wages paid out of the hides of exploited Negro and Mexican labor and from the poverty and disease of poor whites.

Our justice is showered with injustice. Our jails seethe with the revolts of the wretched and the innocent and of thousands whose only crime is being black. We murder Chessman for no crime we can prove; we jail Uphaus and Sobell, torture Winston and drive Heikkila to death. Why? The bomb-proof shelters of the editorial offices of the New York **Times** hear a rumor that our judges often actually pay two years' salary for nomination.

WE ARE DELIBERATELY DISTORTING history—not simply United States history so as to excuse Negro slavery and deify slave owners, to praise the traitors who solemnly swore to support their country and then fought desperately to betray it and preserve Negro slavery; but especially to twist and distort the world wars and the triumph of socialism.

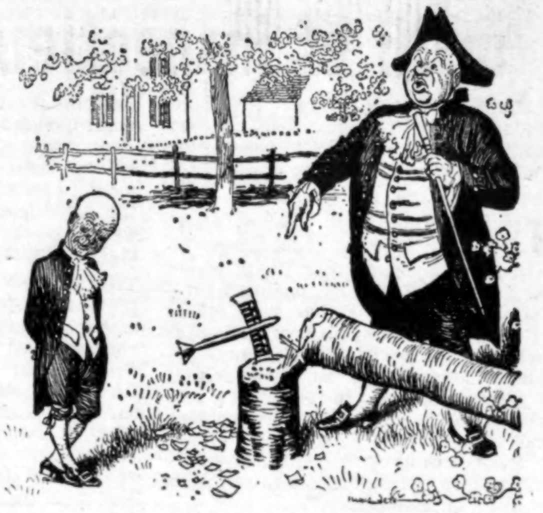
We started with propaganda which out-Hitlered Hitler. Big Business monopolized news-gathering, newspapers, periodicals and publishing. The nation was led to believe that communism was a conspiracy and crime, and socialism its handmaid. We were told that the communist states were failures, their citizens serfs and prisoners, seething with revolt; their women prostitutes and their education only "brain-washing" propaganda. Many wanted to use our atom bomb immediately on Moscow, but when we found the Soviets already had it we accused them of stealing it from us, as they were certainly too dumb to have invented it.

We planned for war. Our State Department and national leaders cooperated with **Collier's** magazine in 1951. The nation was primed to conquer the Soviet Union in 1960. This is 1960. This was to be the year of conquest. **Collier's** (of blessed memory) foretold the event in 130 pages, written by Allan Nevins, our "leading" historian; Stuart Chase, our "leading" economist; Edward R. Murrow, our "great" news interpreter; Margaret Chase Smith, our woman Senator; Robert Sherwood and J. B. Priestley. Our Senator wrote of "Russia Reborn" under American soldiers, presumably armed with flaming napalm and disease germs. This victory had to be postponed, but our propaganda continued.

WE CONTINUED TO SNEER at education and progress in the Soviet Union. I once heard Conant of Harvard, formerly High Commissioner of Germany, tell the Harvard Club of New York that Soviet leaders repeatedly refused to tell him what examinations were given high school students for entrance into college. He finally learned (here in America) that "the Communist Party would not allow any examinations!" This proved Soviet education a farce. A few years later came Sputnik and the photographing of the back of the moon. We had to acknowledge the superiority of Soviet education, the progress of her science and the fact that her industrial development might soon equal or even outstrip ours.

Khrushchev dared to visit us and, while Congress went into hiding, he made the finest speech for world peace which has been heard here since Lincoln at Gettysburg. We then photographed Russian fortifications and lied about it. Why? Because Allen Dulles and our military rulers are still determined to smash the Summit conference and plunge the world into war.

GHANA LEADERS ON A RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW
Premier Khrushchev wraps himself in a Ghana robe while welcoming the African delegation.



Illingworth, London Daily Mail

"Father, I cannot tell a lie . . ."

Meantime we want to help the world. We remember how American charity has often fed the hungry and healed the sick. Taking every advantage of this memory, Big Business has used it to the hilt. The Marshall Plan was to help war-torn Europe. In reality it helped American business to buy into European industry, beat back socialist labor, bribe skilled labor and pay soldiers. In fact with most of the funds we are arming all foreigners we can bribe or scare to help us fight Communists, and with what's left we are using our public tax funds to give rich American investors private capital, or to bribe native quislings in India and Africa to betray their countries to American industry. Already in New York alone we have four "African" organizations, financed by Big Business, and officered by Negroes supposed to give "information" on Africa. Pious churchmen are furnishing the requisite religious background. For all of this Eisenhower is now demanding four billions of our dollars which ought to be used for social medicine, education and housing.

HOWEVER, MY FRIENDS NOTE, an election is coming up. So what? There is, to be sure, a President soon to be chosen. The expenditure of all candidates for the office in 1956 was said to have been $100,000,000. This year it may be $500,000,000. Only Big Business, well-heeled stock gamblers and the China Lobby can bid. Whether a Democrat or Republican wins, it will be the same gang. You will have no chance to vote for a meaningful third party. You will have no chance to vote for peace or war; for social medicine, housing or decent education. Why?

We know the reason. It is because the United States is no longer a democracy. Most citizens know this well and do not waste time going to the polls. If it were true that we have what we want in this nation, we could sit still and wait on reason. But it is not true. We are ruled by a minority armed with wealth and power. This usurpation we must fight. We must first demand the right to have a third party on the ballot. This the politicians prevent and these politicians must go.

HERE IS A PROGRAM for those who have not lost hope and who yet believe in America. Forget the Presidency. It will make not a jot of difference whether Nixon and Chiang Kai-shek, or Kennedy and Cardinal Spellman, win the office. Concentrate on Senators and Congressmen, legislators and city councilmen and ward heelers.

Insist on a chance to vote for peace, for the total abolition of the color line; for no family income above $25,000 or below $5,000; for free education from kindergarten through college; for housing on a nation-wide scale; for training of all for the work they can do in so far as such work is needed for the best interests of all. Insist on discipline for this work. Allow no laborer to be paid less than his product is worth; and let no employer take what he does not make. Curb corporations by putting most of them under government ownership.

Heal the sick as a privilege, not as a charity. Make private ownership of natural resources a crime. Stop interference with private and personal belief by religious hypocrites. Preserve the utmost freedom for dream of beauty, creative art and joy of living. Call this socialism, communism, reformed capitalism or holy rolling. Call it anything—but get it done!

Perhaps this is insane, but to me it is Reason, Right and Justice. As Bert Williams once said: "I may be crazy, but I ain't no Fool!"

CONTROLS OR INFORMATION-GATHERING?

How U. S. made a cold-war myth of inspection problem

David Wesley is a former UN correspondent for Overseas News Agency and at present is editorial page editor of the York, Pa., Gazette & Daily.

By David Wesley

THE JUSTIFICATION given by Washington for the most embarrassing international incident that its penchant for diplomatic follies has produced yet—l'affaire Powers—was that such provocative espionage missions were made necessary by the Soviet Union's "iron-curtain philosophy," its long-time refusal to permit "adequate" inspection as a verification and safeguard of disarmament and atomic control agreements. As long as Russia maintains its "fetish of secrecy," we must take all measures to insure against "surprise attack."

To many people, especially to other governments that have the heavy burden of maintaining what is called national security, the rationalization sounded not unreasonable. It has, therefore, never been more important for the public to know the facts about the Russian position on inspection, and these facts have been obscured for 13 years behind the heaviest iron curtain of our time—an iron curtain of systematic government and press deception and misrepresentation right here at home.

Of all the many myths of the cold-war period none has been so thoroughly established as the inspection myth. If this were not so, the U.S. could hardly have raised such an excuse for the Powers flight and the many admitted others. Even top-flight students of the disarmament issue connected with the Federation of American Scientists and the **Bulletin** of Atomic Scientists, both ardently in favor of peace, have exhibited an arresting ignorance of the Soviet position on inspection in their writings on the subject.

ILLUSION OF SUBSTANCE: The success of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations' campaign in blaming the failure of all disarmament negotiations basically on the Soviet refusal to accept "adequate" inspection may have an explanation, however. It may stem from the fact that the myth has had the **illusion** of substance behind it—and Americans have become accustomed to accepting illusions, Madison Avenue "image"-making, after all, being one of our major industries.

The illusion-making process can be illustrated as follows: Suppose the West, year after year in the United Nations, proposed as a first disarmament step a world-wide arms census verified by inspection teams. And suppose that the U.S.S.R. each time vetoed the proposal in the Security Council and voted against it in the General Assembly. The presumption would naturally be that the Russians would have nothing to do with an inspected arms census.

This, as a matter of fact, is just what happened in the late Forties and early Fifties and helped to propagate the great inspection myth. But the impression created by the U.S. was pure illusion, simply because the picture drawn above, the one that most Americans got, is less than half of the reality. The Western proposal included only conventional, not nuclear, arms; so each time it was presented, the Soviet delegate offered an amendment to include nuclear arms, and when the amendment was rejected, as it always was, the Soviets rejected the original resolution.

THE SOVIET STAND: In like manner, the Soviet rejection of most U.S. disarmament or military surveillance schemes has been used to establish the myth of an "iron-curtain philosophy" by trumpeting the rejections and blanking out the Soviet proposals. But the Soviet "philosophy" is naturally discovered in its own disarmament and verification plans. And what these show is that the first and last time the Soviets ever ignored the key element of inspection was in June, 1946.

The first Soviet atomic energy-control plan, offered in opposition to the Acheson-Lilienthal (later Baruch) control plan, called for complete nuclear disarmament. Exactly that. For almost the whole of the next decade the U.S. and the (growingly restive) UN majority held inflexibly to the Baruch plan, constantly propagandizing that the Soviet rejection of it was founded on a refusal to be inspected. What anyone can inspect in the UN archives, however, is the second Soviet atomic control plan introduced in June, 1947.

If this 13-year-old Soviet plan were put in effect today we could have a fully safeguarded nuclear peace, including complete disintegration of the "iron curtain." It sought to meet every Baruch proposition except the international ownership and quota provisions, which were the actual reasons for the Soviet rejection.

(Canada's atomic energy delegate, the late Gen MacNaughton, once conceded to this writer that the Soviet state could not accept these provisions without losing basic control of its own economy; and since that would be equally true of the U.S., we would never have accepted the plan either. Yet for a strategic eight years after Hiroshima the U.S. pinned the world's peace hopes on this hoax—from which anyone can draw his own conclusions).

WILLING TO COMPROMISE: The Soviet plan called for an international atomic authority that would supervise the production and use of all atomic energy and conduct "periodic" inspections of all resources, facilities, etc., all such decisions being made by simple majority vote. (It would also be responsible for conducting basic research in atomic development for peace—a scheme copied by Eisenhower almost verbatim in his "atoms-for-peace" message six years later.)

When the U.S. harped on the word "periodic," Vishinsky expanded it in speech after speech, finally declaring: "You can inspect us on Monday, you can inspect us on Tuesday, [he went right through the week] . . . . All we won't let you do is come into the Soviet Union and put your feet on the desk and tell us how to run our atomic plants for peaceful purposes and how many atoms we can have for them [Baruch ownership and quota provisions]."

In 1949 the Soviets compromised further, introducing the concept of simultaineity. They had wanted a ban on nuclear weapons to precede establishment of the control system, while the U.S. insisted on the reverse. Now the Soviets proposed a draft convention on prohibition and another setting up the control machinery, both to come into force at the same time. In the General Assembly of the previous fall they had offered a resolution that added a third convention to the simultaneity pattern, one calling for a one-third reduction in armed forces and armaments. When, in May, 1949, France proposed the non-atomic verified arms census and Malik implicitly accepted the idea by amending it to include nuclear arms, the Soviet "philosophy" was complete.

THE ESSENCE: That was over a decade ago, but that was when disarmament "philosophies" were crystallized and they remain, as philosophies, exactly the same today. Only details have changed to meet changes in weaponry. And these changes or modified plans have always found the Soviets agreeing to the idea of full verification by inspection—inspectors at control posts, airfields, etc., under a "surprise-attack" agreement; monitor stations under a test-ban agreement; and **resident** inspectors under the general disarmament proposals discussed (but rejected finally by the U.S.) in 1955 to 1957. If one went through the years of Soviet delegate speeches in the UN on disarmament, one would be unlikely to find a single one in which the phrase, "a rigid inspection system," was absent. "Rigid" was the favorite Russian word for international inspection.

Let us now reduce the Soviet philosophy, as revealed in all its plans and negotiations on the subjects of atomic-energy control and general disarmament through the years, to its essence: The Russians will agree to disarmament that is supervised by an international commission with full, veto-free powers of inspection—but only on one condition. That is that the control system is part of an international commitment to reduce or eliminate armaments and to ban weapons of mass destruction (the simultaneity principle).

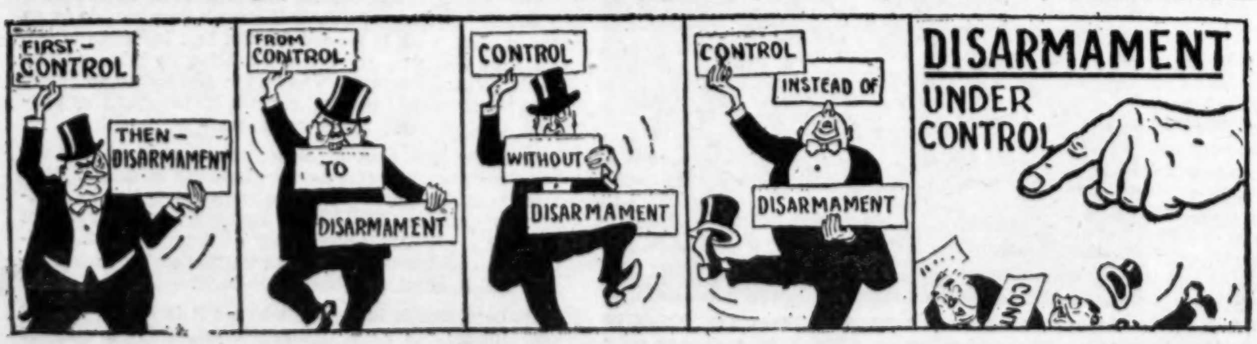
This takes us back to one further aspect of the Baruch plan—the most fundamental of all. Again contrary to the general impression, the plan never included such a commitment. It only stated that as a final step, after the ownership scheme was fully functioning, the question of a ban on nuclear weapons and destruction of stockpiles would then come up for decision. This philosophy, too, remains unchanged. What few people grasp in its full significance is that the U.S. has never to this day undertaken a commitment to prohibit the production of atomic weapons, let alone to destroy stockpiles, under any inspection system.

THE REAL AIM: The Soviet Union's simultaneity principle does not, and never did, mean a ban on the bomb and stockpile destruction on the day a control plan is signed. It means simply a treaty committing the parties to these eventualities at the time the control system is approved. The latter could be functioning, the Soviets have pointed out, before the actual ban and stockpile destruction were carried out.

Recently, Khrushchev sweepingly declared that the U.S. could have inspectors "overrunning" the Soviet Union if it was inspection connected with disarmament and not just for "information-gathering." Such statements tend to be dismissed, even by disarmament experts, as displays of the euphoric side of the Soviet premier. What even the experts have forgotten is that this sweeping pronouncement is a literal distillation of every disarmament plan going all the way back to 1947 (thus, incidentally, including six years under Stalin).

And when this is recognized, along with the fact that Washington has so consistently labored to conceal it from the public, at the same time withdrawing precipitously from any real disarmament agreement whenever one looked close at hand, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that our major object in 13 years of international debate has not been disarmament but legal access to the knowledge of Soviet military power that Allen Dulles is still trying to obtain illegally. Our aim, in other words, would appear to be not peace but victory in the event of war, which means that we have not yet joined the 20th Century, and that the world therefore stands in mortal danger.

If President Eisenhower wants to know what's going on behind the "iron curtain," all he has to do is agree, if only as a final step in a cautious step-by-step disarmament blueprint, to give up all mass-destruction weapons. The disarmament problem is literally as simple as that, and it always has been.



Boris Efimov, Izvestia

Western proposals and Soviet proposals

DON'T LET INJUSTICE RULE NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW HAMPSHIRE OPENS TO TOURISTS
SHUTS JAIL DOOR ON FREEDOM

Pickets protest imprisonment of Dr. Uphaus

They were on hand for the opening of a new office of the New England Tourist Bureau at Rockefeller Center in New York City on May 10. Dr. Willard Uphaus has been in a New Hampshire jail since last December for refusing to give the guest list of his World Fellowship Camp in that state. New Hampshire's governor was on hand for the opening of the tourist office and the signs were directed at him. The case of the 69-year-old pacifist leader has attracted more public attention and action than any other recent one of its kind.

THE MOST BIZARRE SCHEME IN U.S. HISTORY

How John Foster Dulles tried to capture Russia

THE LATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES
His 1918 blueprint was thorough

John Foster Dulles, who served as Secretary of State from Jan. 21, 1953, to April 15, 1959, died one year ago on May 24, 1959. President Eisenhower called him "one of the truly great men of our time." His contributions to the worsening of world tensions in our time are well-known to GUARDIAN readers. Less well-known are some of his earlier activities. One such enterprise is described below. The author is the book review editor of the quarterly Science and Society. *The current issue (Spring, 1960) contains an article of his entitled "Monopoly Capitalism and Marx's Economic Doctrine" which deals with some controversial theoretical questions.*

By Alfred Evenitsky

JOHN FOSTER DULLES has left behind numerous monuments to his diplomatic genius—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the SEATO alliance, the application of the doctrine of containment, a world enmeshed in cold war and a technique of diplomacy requiring him to rush periodically to the brink of disaster. (Indeed, the term "brinkmanship" is not likely to disappear from the memory of today's generation.)

He has left another monument considerably older than these—a monument with which few persons are familiar, and which constitutes, unquestionably, one of the most bizarre episodes in American history.

It is 1918. Russia staggers bleeding and battered after four years of shattering war. Her industry is almost at a standstill; her agriculture is devastated and her transportation system barely functions. It is the hour of the vulture.

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, in Washington, D.C., Vance C. McCormick, chairman of the War Trade Board (a wartime agency of the United States government established to control foreign commerce) and John Foster Dulles, his assistant, dream a dream as grandiose as has probably ever been dreamt by man. And so, on November 6, 1918, they embody this dream in a prosaic legal document titled "Articles of Incorporation of the War Trade Board of United States Russian Bureau (Inc.)." John Foster Dulles was both secretary and treasurer of this corporation.

The initial capitalization of $5,000,000 was provided by President Wilson out of a $100,000,000 general fund granted him by Congress. The ostensible purpose for which the $5,000,000 had been allocated was to provide famine relief for the Russian people. The articles of incorporation of the United States Russian Bureau, which set forth the nature of the business to be transacted (these were listed in minute detail in 19 points), told a different story. This document provided a detailed blueprint for taking over Russia, lock, stock and barrel, by this corporation.

IF THE 19 POINTS were not set down in black-and-white in the **Congressional Record** (House Record for January 13, 1919) one could scarcely be blamed for appearing incredulous. The following few portions of the document convey the flavor of the whole:

"1. To engage in the business of buying, selling, importing, and exporting goods, wares and merchandise of every description, and any and all kinds of personal property, and to carry on a general mercantile and commercial business . . .

"2. To engage in any and all kinds of manufacturing and to acquire, hold, lease and sell all lands, buildings, machinery, and equipment, and all raw materials and supplies . . .

"3. To search for, prospect, explore, purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire, own, develop, work, operate, sell, lease, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of any and all agricultural, grazing, timber or other lands, mineral deposits, mines, mining properties, collieries and quarries . . .

"5. To build, construct, complete, equip, purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire, hold, own, manage, operate, maintain, mortgage, sell, or otherwise dispose of hotels, apartment houses, boarding and lodging houses, restaurants, stores . . .

Similarly for railways, telephone and telegraph systems, power and utility systems (point 6), dams, reservoirs and canals (7), wharves, docks, warehouses (8), steamships (9), and banking (18).

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES W. GOOD (R-Iowa), who spilled the beans on the floor of the House on Jan. 13, 1919, said: "I have read the wonderful dream of Cecil Rhodes. I have read with interest and enthusiasm the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, but I undertake to say here and now that the dream of Cecil Rhodes or the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company is not to be compared with this wonderful document setting forth the aims and purposes of the War Trade Board of the United States Russian Bureau (Inc.)." This Bureau, charged Rep. Good, establishes "the greatest trust the world ever saw . . . and all of it is done under the cover of feeding the starving people of Russia."

The unfavorable publicity following Rep. Good's expose doomed the Russian Bureau before it could transform even a small part of its ambitious plan into accomplishment. A press release dated Jan. 14, 1919, announced that the objectives of the Bureau had been misunderstood; it had never been intended as a profit-making organization; and henceforth the corporation would function solely as an adviser to private and governmental bodies to whom the information at its disposal might prove useful.

THE PRESS RELEASE failed to make clear why a corporation whose sole purpose was to engage in famine relief should have drawn up articles of incorporation spelling out with great exactitude (the fine legal brain of John Foster Dulles can be detected here) the categories of property to be seized in the country allegedly being aided.

Also left unexplained was a report in the New York **Times** which had appeared a month earlier announcing that the Bureau's trading operations would "follow the army," as if the Russian people were so determined to spurn the relief offered that U.S. armed forces had to form the spearhead for their magnanimous penetration. And what of the admission in the same report that special safeguards would be taken "to make certain that the peoples who are in need of aid are not exploited and extortionate prices charged" and that the Bureau was not "seeking to make large profits?" This famine relief program did not eschew profits, but only "large profits."

John Foster Dulles once demonstrated his repugnance for the socialist framework of thought by observing: "It is not exactly amusing to read about 'dialectical materialism'." But one can say that it is quite amusing to read about Mr. Dulles' example of "practical altruism."

BRAND NAMES VERSUS SCIENTIFIC NAMES

A drug by any other name is likely to cost more, Senate hearing told

WHAT'S IN A NAME? The Senate drug hearings May 10-13 asked a group of experts. The question was provoked by the greatly varying prices charged for identical drugs under different brand names. A drug sold by a small manufacturer under one brand name sells for considerably less than the same drug packaged by a large company under another name.

Many concerned with the high cost of drugs have suggested that physicians prescribe drugs under their generic (scientific) name to allow the pharmacist to sell the cheapest brand. But the Natl. Pharmaceutical Council, composed of 20-odd large drug manufacturers, argues that the products of the small companies are inferior.

The hearings learned that some companies manipulate generic names of new drugs to make them appear to contain ingredients which are not actually present. Some companies deliberately make the generic names awkward-sounding to force the physician to remember only the catchy brand name. Physicians are also confused by the many brand names of the same drug. For example, a new form of penicillin, known generically as penethicillin, is being marketed under at least six different brand names—Alpen, Chemipen, Darcil, Dramcillin-S, Maxipen and Syncillin. They come in five colors: pink, peach, green and two shades of yellow. For each there is a separate advertising campaign. It may take months for a physician to realize they are all the same drug.

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW: Dr. Charles O. Wilson, dean of the Oregon State School of Pharmacy, complained of the "confusion, misrepresentation and lack of consistency which exist in the nomenclature of medical agents." He said in compiling a drug index he found that one drug had eight official names ranging from Apap to N-Acetyl-P-Aminophenol to Para-Hydroxylacetamide. He asked the committee to propose legislation to give the Food and Drug Administration power to standardize names.

O. K. Grettenberg, Michigan director of drugs and drug stores, proposed that Congress appropriate enough money to the FDA so it can hire inspectors to check on the quality of drugs. Drugs meeting standards would receive FDA "certificates of quality." Physicians would then feel confident to prescribe by generic name, he said.

"I'm afraid," he added, "that the pharmaceutical industry has overly frightened the pharmacists by implying that everything that is not a brand name is a poor quality." In 11 years in his post, he said, "I have yet to find an inferior drug product" produced by a small company.

He said he was asking the Michigan Board of Pharmacy to allow druggists to fill prescriptions by generic name even when a brand is specified, provided the doctor writing the prescription approved.

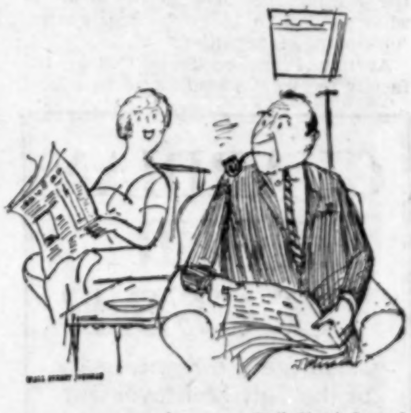
FALSE FEAR: Dr. Mildred E. Brady of Consumers Union endorsed the proposal for FDA drug inspection to dispel the notion that low-cost drugs are not reliable. If the drug industry is raising "such a specter falsely," she said, then it is guilty of "an unforgiveable use of false fear to deflect public attention from high prices."

Dr. August H. Groeschel, associate director of New York Hospital, said his hospital saved 25% in drug costs by buying only by generic names. The Natl. Pharmaceutical Council, he said, waged a campaign of "continual harassment" against hospitals to get them to stock many brands.

Dr. Walter Modell, associate professor at Cornell U. Medical College, said his school trains students to prescribe by generic name. His hospital, he said, permits the use only of scientific names for drugs. "We hope that this insures better practice, but at the very least it forces the physician to know what he is giving patients in our hospital when he writes a prescription."

HRUSKA'S VIEW: Dr. Thomas D. Rowe, dean of the University of Michigan College of Pharmacy, took an opposite view. He said that dropping the use of brand names could permit some "unprincipled" small manufacturers to sell inferior products. He said tests showed that "over 5% of drugs depart in some significant manner from labeled specifications." Nearly all of these are from small companies "with inadequate procedures for controlling production."

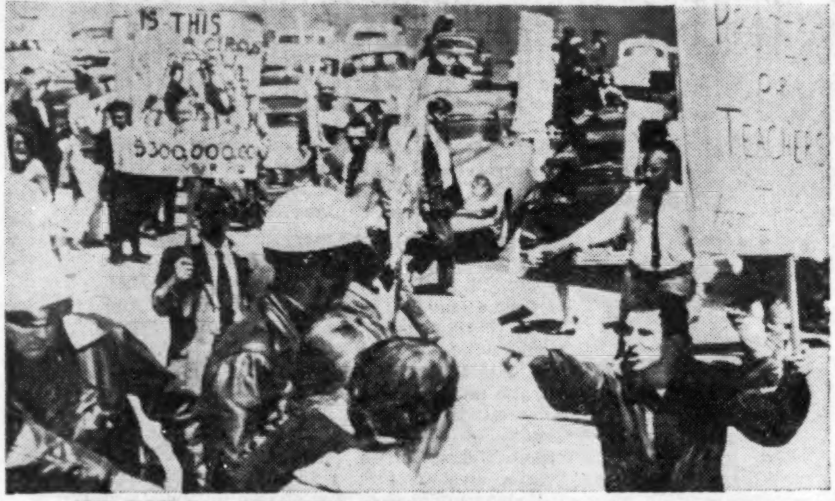
Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.), a member of the committee, called the hearings a "self-serving inquisition." He told a meeting of the Pharmaceutical Advertising Club that the hearings were prejudiced against the drug industry. He said that some of the physician witnesses "have presented non-conforming, antagonistic views, clearly not held by the great preponderance of their professional brethren."



Wall Street Journal

"You've got to hand it to the advertising agencies. They create a desire in me for things I never thought I'd want."

Un-Americans in San Francisco



AND YOU CAN TELL THE CHIEF INSPECTOR WHAT I SAID TOO
A picket takes time out to tell the cops what he thinks of them

(Continued from Page 1)

sented them. Others called included a student, a radio commentator, several unionists and some persons who had been active in picketing five-and-ten-cent stores in support of the Southern Negro students.

Public and campus opposition to the hearings arose immediately. The San Francisco, Alameda County and San Jose AFL-CIO Labor Councils denounced the hearings. The AFL-CIO Federation of Teachers passed a resolution calling for the committee's abolition. The independent West Coast longshoremen told the commitee to "go home."

Protests also came from the Northern California Board of Rabbis, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Lawyers Guild, the San Francisco Society of Friends, the Unitarian Church of San Jose, the Berkeley YWCA, the East Bay Jewish Center and the Episcopal Diocese of California.

CAMPUSES ACT: The subpenaed persons formed themselves into the Bay Area Defense Committee. The San Francisco Citizens' Committee to Preserve American Freedoms also girded for battle.

But the most vigorous protest formed on the campuses. At the U. of California in Berkeley, almost 300 faculty members signed a petition calling the hearings "insidious and harmful." The student paper, **Daily Californian,** urged students to picket the committee and to attend the hearings "to observe the tenor of what we feel to be in the truest sense 'un-American Activities'."

At San Francisco State College 165 faculty members signed an ad in a local paper opposing the committee. Faculty members at San Jose State College joined others in publishing a similar ad. And in Palo Alto, Stanford U. faculty also published their protest.

The students pledged to maintain a picket line around City Hall for the duration of the hearings.

UNION SQUARE RALLY: As the hearings opened more than 1,000 persons attended a meeting in Union Square called by the Berkeley Student Committee for Civil Liberties. Canon Richard Byfield of Grace Cathedral told the audience: "These unjustly conducted hearings not only damage individuals but also our society."

Assemblyman Phillip Burton said: "No legislative committee should have the power to place people in the calumny of the community without going through due process of law . . . I am looking forward to the day when the resolution by Congressman James Roosevelt will abolish this committee."

Assemblyman John A. O'Connell also called for the committee's abolition. He added: "I do believe a Communist has a right to hold his political view and to say it aloud in public just as I am talking here."

The students marched from the rally to City Hall where others were already picketing.

PASSES ONLY: Inside the hearing room only persons carrying passes issued by committee investigator William A. Wheeler were admitted. "I issued them to individuals," Wheeler said, "to keep the Commies from stacking the meeting. We wanted some decent people in here."

Some who opposed the hearings managed to get in, but about 200 others, mostly students, stood in the corridor and on the stairs. The first witness was Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs in New York. He said that in 1959 about 10,000,000 items of "communist propaganda" entered the country. When he finished, committee staff director Richard Arens said: "I've just been advised . . . there's a parade going on around this building against this committee." Applause from the rear of the room and the corridor interrupted his speech.

Archie Brown, a longshoreman, shouted: "You gave all these people cards, why didn't you give me some for my friends. There isn't a Negro in the room." Two policemen dragged him out of the room.

The next witness was Barbara Hartle, a former Communist leader who has found "God and patriotism." She testified that the "communist menace" is greater than ever. When she stepped down, Arens called, "the next witness—Archie Brown." Brown's attorney George Andersen said: "He was physically ejected. I suggest if you want him, you invite him to return."

The committee called instead Douglas Wachter, 18, a U. of California student. He refused to cooperate and the committee recessed for lunch.

SOME LET IN: When the hearings resumed, holders of "Wheeler cards" were again given priority for seats. Only a few protesters got in. The rest stood outside and chanted, "Open the doors" and "First come, first served."

Brown re-appeared and demanded that some of the protesters be admitted. He said some were waiting since 7:30 a.m. Others in the room supported his plea. Arens called on police to eject the demonstrators. "I never thought I'd see the day," he said, "when the police force of a city like San Francisco would let a bunch of Communists take over a Congressional hearing."

Police grabbed Brown and six others and dragged them into the corridor. One of the ejected, Mrs. Juanita Wheeler, collapsed of a heart attack and was taken to a hospital.

The hearings continued after police agreed to replace 30 of the people with "Wheeler cards" with 30 of those waiting outside. The next witnesses, Merle Brodsky, an unemployed tilesetter, and Martin Marcus, a teacher, refused to cooperate.

LOUDER, PLEASE: The next day students again picketed outside and about 200 tried to get into the hearings. But again protesters were kept out while people holding "Wheeler cards" were admitted. In the corridor, students chanted "Abolish the committee" and "Let us in." Sheriff Matthew Carberry asked the crowd to keep quiet. From the rear a polite voice said: "Sir, would you threaten us a little louder, please? We can't hear you back here."

The crowd quieted after Carberry promised that at the afternoon session, seats would be filled on a first come, first served basis. But when the hearings re-convened after lunch, the protesters were again barred and a barricade kept them from the hearing-room doors.

Some shouted "Let us in" and surged forward. Inspector Michael Maguire, chief of the "Red Squad," removed a fire hose from the wall and turned it on the crowd. White-helmeted police turned on other hoses.

Behind the police a committee staff member directed the hosing. "That one's a commie," he said. "That one's a witness."

The protesters retreated down the steps. Some slipped on the wet stairs. At the bottom of the landing a group of drenched students sat on the floor, arms linked and sang, "We Shall Not Be moved." Police turned off the hoses and advanced on the students.

WORST EVER: "Never in 20 years as a reporter," New York **Post** correspondent Mel Wax wrote, "have I seen such brutality." Two policeman grabbed a thin boy and carried him out. One had him by the shirt, the other held his feet. A third officer clubbed the boy three times; with the last blow he went limp.

Police hurled women down the staircase, spines bumping on each marble step. One woman was dragged through glass from a broken door pane. San Francisco **Chronicle** reporter George Draper wrote: "One plump girl was shoved from the top of the stairs and tumbled and slipped down two flights to land like a bundle of clothing at the bottom."

Police reinforcements arrived with swinging clubs and belted everyone in sight. Marshal W. Krause, an attorney who was visiting the building on business, was struck by the hose. "Turn the goddamm fire hose off," he shouted. "There is no reason to turn the fire hose on these people." Police arrested him with 62 demonstrators.

COPS BLAME STUDENTS: Police in-

(Continued on Page 7)

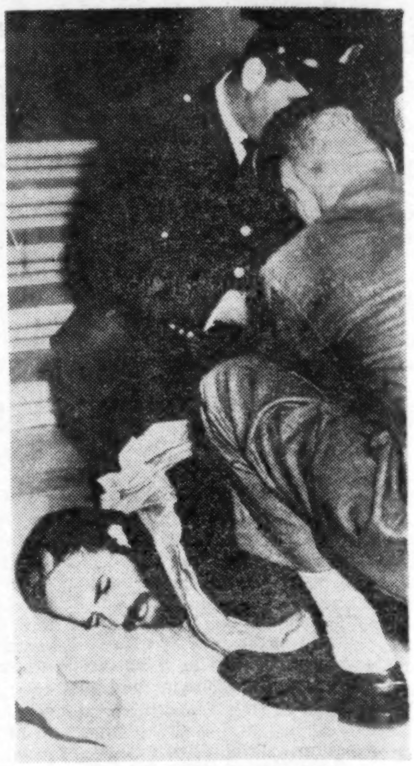
May flowers?

FOUR UTTERLY serious men cannot get together just to look at each other once again; they must come to some first agreements. But even this will not console the people if the arms race continues. So long as two military giants with enormous stocks of atomic weapons stand facing each other, it will hardly be possible to find in the world a mother who will be able to think calmly about the future of her children . . .

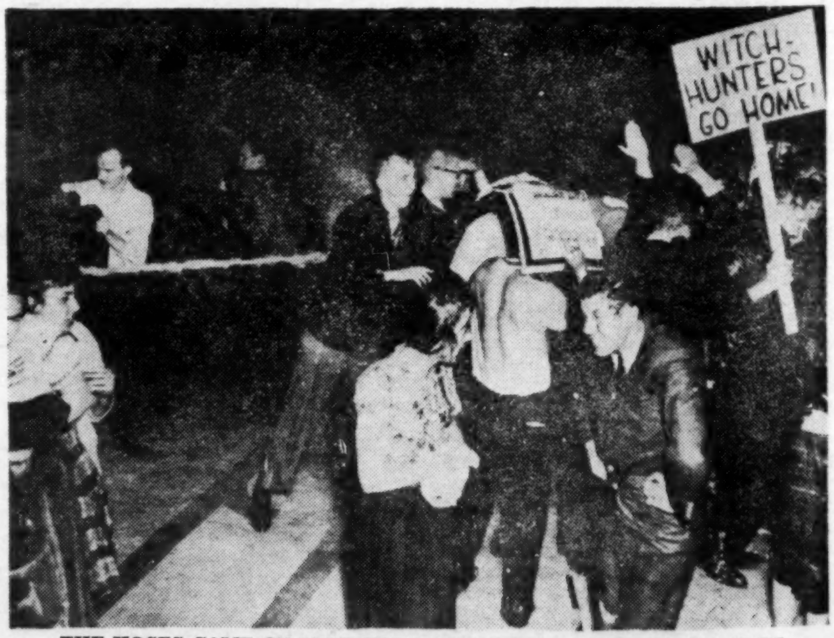
Millions of young people are serving in various armies. They could turn all the deserts of the world into gardens . . . [But] they build nothing; they are kept for destruction . . .

Is it not time for people who are now thinking of flying to the moon to liberate themselves from primitive barbarism?

—Ilya Ehrenburg in **Izvestia**



HE SWORE BY HIS BEARD . . .
. . . that he wouldn't be budged


WITCH-HUNTERS GO HOME!

THE HOSES CAME ON FULL FORCE BUT THEY WOULD NOT BUDGE
Defiance is written on the face of the soaked young man (r.)

GUARDIAN TOUR *TO CUBA!*

Celebrate the Anniversary of the July 26 Movement

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Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 6)

sisted that students started the riot. But Draper wrote: "I did not see any of the kids actually fighting with police. Their resistance was more passive. They would simply go limp and be manhandled out of the building."

Mayor George Christopher, who was out of town, rushed back and arrived after the violence. He urged the demonstrators not to resist the police. "I do not want this to become a black day in the history of San Francisco. Please obey the law."

One of the students shouted: "It is already a black day."

Christopher said the picketing around City Hall could continue if it remained peaceful. He also asked student leaders to meet with him to tell their story.

Throughout the demonstration students maintained their picket line around the building. When one girl fainted, 20 police rushed to break up the line, but alert picket captains kept it intact.

BALKY WITNESSES: Inside the hearing-room, the committee had as much trouble with the witnesses as police had with the students. Vernon Bown, a warehouseman, called Arens "some kind of nut." To acting chairman Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) he said: "Will you please stop interrupting me? I have as much right to be heard as you . . . You sound like a madman."

He also said that Willis was elected illegally because Negroes in his district are not permitted to vote. (An ad in the **Chronicle** by the Bay Area Defense Committee pointed out that only 8,000 of the 300,000 people in Willis' district voted and Willis got "every single vote.")

None of the other witnesses cooperated with the committee.

When the hearings opened the next day, mounted police and barricades kept protesters from corridors and staircase. Outside, about 5,000 people circled the building in a mass picket line. Of these 2,000 were students. They arrived at 8 a.m. Each carried mimeographed instructions similar to those on the Southern civil rights picket lines. Students were told they must picket peacefully and resist all attempts to draw them into violence; hecklers must not be answered; picket captains must be obeyed. If you cannot keep your temper, the instructions said, please do not join the line.

DEFIERS APPLAUDED: A loudspeaker broadcast the hearings to the pickets. As each witness defied the committee, roars of applause rang out. When Archie Brown came out—he testified finally—he received an ovation for ten minutes.

The pickets listened intently as Laurent Frantz gave the committee a 15-minute lecture on the meaning of the Fifth Amendment in response to a question about his writings in **The Nation** and the **Virginia Law Review** and his work for the Fund for the Republic.

There were no hecklers and police kept at a respectful distance.

During the lunch recess Arens, Willis and other committee members came out on a balcony to observe the line. One student looked up and shouted, "Jump." Soon the whole line shouted in unison, "Jump, jump," and "Sieg Heil." The witch-hunters retired quickly and the pickets broke into "God Bless America."

The hearings ended at 5 p.m., but the picket line continued for another hour to make sure they were really over.

On May 16 63 persons, most of them students, were arraigned on charges of inciting to riot. At City Hall, Mayor Christopher shielded his police. "There is no question but that some unfortunate actions took place," he said. "But it must be remembered that the police have responsibility for maintaining law and order."

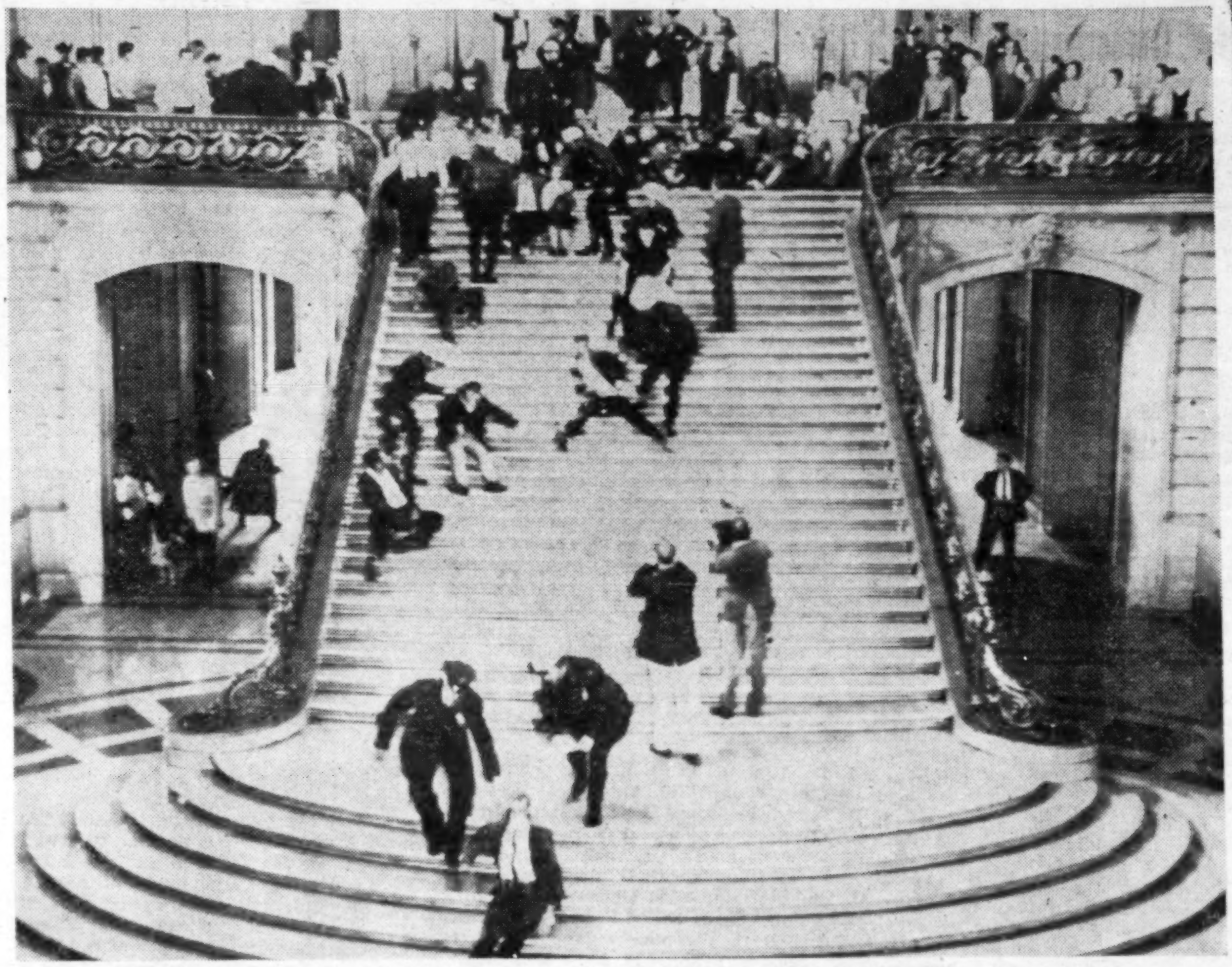
The Calif. Fedn. of Young Democrats passed a resolution demanding "an investigation by the San Francisco mayor's office" of the police brutality.

STUDENTS THANKED: The executive council of the Calif. Fedn. of Teachers passed a resolution which "publicly thanks the college students of the Bay Area for their dedication and for the courage to protest, even in the face of brutal and unjustifiable coercion and arrest."

The students may have also earned the gratitude of the whole nation for driving a key spike in the committee's coffin. Rep. Roosevelt's office has been flooded with letters endorsing his resolution to abolish the committee. Persons opposing the committee are urged to write to Roosevelt and their own Congressman.

There are other indications that the committee may close shop or sharply curtail its activities. The York **Gazette and Daily** reported that Arens is expected to resign in July and committee chairman Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) may not seek re-election in November. The paper also reported moves to cut the committee's budget and curtain its activities.

Whether or not the committee is abolished, Friday, May 13, is certain to be the unluckiest day in its ignominious history.



THE WATER WAS AN INCH DEEP IN SAN FRANCISCO'S CITY HALL AFTER THE DELUGE
Police are shown dragging non-resisting demonstrators down the wet steps of the rotunda

The right to be let alone

IN A VIGOROUS DEFENSE of the right to be let alone, Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard University Law School criticized Congressional inquiries into political beliefs and associations in a speech in Chicago on May 13. He spoke at a conference on civil rights at Northwestern University's School of Law which is celebrating its centennial.

"Many of those summoned before the more spectacular Congressional committees suffered serious governmental interference with the right to be let alone," he said.

He declared that "Congressmen and Senators are not magistrates with roving commissions to go about the length and breadth of the land hailing people before them to respond to what they will. Congressmen and Senators are legislators, entitled to make inquiries and examine facts in support of their work as legislators. They can readily get all the information they need about any topic without asking any person about his own past thoughts, beliefs and associations."

UPHAUS CASE SCORED: He defended use of the Fifth Amendment as "fully justified and of first importance if it serves to protect dissent and opposition to the government and all matters of thought and freedom of opinion." He said the Amendment is one protection "designed to tip the scale in favor of the individual against the weight of the state."

Dean Griswold said the imprisonment of Dr. Willard Uphaus for a year for refusing to name guests at his World Fellowship camp will "long leave a scar on the good name of the fair state of New Hampshire."

He included in the right to be let alone salutes to the flag, loyalty oaths, disclaimer affidavits "and all the other apparatus for putting people on record and making them state their views and beliefs in public."

Dean Griswold delivered his address just before protests against hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco erupted into police violence.

THEY THREW ARCHIE BROWN OUT OF THE HEARING ROOM . . .
. . . and then wanted to know why he wasn't present to testify

The Summit meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

for a U.S. expression of regret.

AFTER DULLES DIED: Khrushchev, it was clear, had lost confidence in Eisenhower's authority to make any agreement binding or to control the actions and utterances of members of his Administration. After Secretary Dulles died, the President seemed to take a firmer hold of the reins of foreign policy. Last September's Camp David talks were reportedly frank and fruitful and, for a time, Eisenhower conducted himself as though he meant to finish his term in office by firmly pledging the U.S. to peace at a Summit conference.

But gradually his grip on his subordinates loosened, as did his interest in keeping alive the issue of peace and relaxation of international tension. As the time for the Paris meeting approached, Administration officials made increasingly bellicose statements, contradicting what had been presumably understood at Camp David; and Eisenhower remained silent.

BERLIN QUESTION: Recently, for instance, the Congressional Joint Atomic Energy Committee held a rigged, anti-test ban hearing. Secy. of State Herter and Under Secy. Dillon took an uncompromising position against negotiations on West Berlin behind Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer and his spokesman at the Summit, French President de Gaulle; yet the President himself had agreed with Khrushchev at Camp David that West Berlin's status was "abnormal" and required modification through negotiation.

Before the U-2 flight, there seemed to have been a long argument between those in the Administration who believed in East-West negotiations and those who were obsessed with military intelligence. The latter apparently won.

During all this time, Eisenhower was spending more and more time on the golf course, emerging only to uphold U.S. right to violate Soviet air space on the ground of Moscow's military "secrecy." He discarded his own testimony after Camp David that the Soviet Union wanted peace; he refused to acknowledge that any country would insist on secrecy if, like the Soviet Union, it were surrounded by hostile military and air bases. Eisenhower's repeated references to the U.S. as an "open society" rang hollow in the light of a decade of U.S. spy scares.

RIGHT TO INTRUDE? The Powers flight was thus the latest in a chain of incidents indicating either Eisenhower's abdication of power or his decline of interest in ending his career as a man of peace. And the closer U.S. explanations of the flight came to the truth, the uglier were their implications. Noting that the President not only justified the plane flight but supported Herter's statement that such flights would continue, James Reston said (**N.Y. Times, May 13**):

"By demanding the **right** to intrude into the Soviet Union, the President has defied Khrushchev to stop him . . . embarrassed the allies by making their bases a target of Khrushchev's anger, and even repudiated one of Washington's own favorite principles—namely, that each nation has the right to choose its own form of government. Maybe the President has made the right choice . . . but [he] cannot have it both ways: he cannot defy Khrushchev and have his cooperation too."

The plane incident revealed that, although Foster Dulles was in his grave, his dream of unconditional surrender of the socialist world to the U.S. was marching on.

DESIGN OF POLICY: U.S. policy since the end of World War II has been designed to bring about the collapse of the Soviet Union and China. The policy of "containment"—of encircling these two socialist giants with U.S.-sponsored bases and rearming West Germany and maintaining Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan—was devised in the hope of toppling these nations by building up inner tensions.

When the Soviet Union (and China) overcame these constrictions, and Moscow became a nuclear power second to none and went on to take the initiative for peaceful coexistence, U.S. policy became one of resisting at all costs any live-and-let-live agreement with the socialist world.

The U.S. rejected Soviet proposals for disarmament and disengagement, shifted ground when Moscow accepted some Western proposals. Columnist Marquis Childs observed in Geneva (May 10-12) that in the nuclear test talks "the Soviets have made one concession after another, coming around time after time to the Western view." He reported that the British believed "a treaty with adequate guarantees" could have been possible "anytime during the past nine months if it had not been for America's delaying tactics."

He said that U.S. negotiator James J. Wadsworth "has constantly been fighting a rear-guard action" with determined treaty opponents in Washington, who have smeared him as being "soft and an "appeaser" without "scarcely a peep of support" from the Administration.

PRISONER OF PENTAGON? Nuclear test ban negotiations have become deadlocked over U.S. insistence on a foolproof inspection system impossible to achieve. Dr. Hans Bethe, physicist and member of the President's science advisory committee, said (April 25): "The Russians have got the impression—and I think rightly—that whenever one demand has been fulfilled, we make another . . . I think they are rapidly getting the impression that . . . it is impossible to get an agreement which is satisfactory to us, because we insist on a hundred percent security in a world where there is no such security."

When the Soviets couple this with the President's recent announcement that the U.S. would resume underground tests, it is no wonder they conclude that Eisenhower has become a prisoner of the Pentagon and Atomic Energy Commission hot warriors.

GROUND CRUMBLING: Thoughtful Americans have increasingly noted how U.S. policy had led it to ways alien to America's best traditions, sullied the good name of Americans—and failed to achieve Washington's professed aims. The York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily** noted editorially (May 2) that in "the network of allies" the U.S. has built "everything obviously alien to democratic principle—Franco, for instance, or Chiang—has been excused on the ground [of anti-communism]. The fact of the matter is that this ground on which rested the Truman-Acheson and Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policies is breaking up." Students have toppled Syngman Rhee in South Korea and are threatening to pull down the repressive regime of Turkish Premier Adnan Menderes.

In Japan, the flight of the U.S. plane over the Soviet Union—and the disclosure that similar U-2 flights were being launched from Japanese bases—has increased the already powerful opposition to the new U.S.-Japan mutual security treaty, which is now before the Diet (parliament) for ratification. Thousands of students have demonstrated against the treaty before the Diet and 200,000 protested on May Day.

In the Diet itself, Ex-Premier Tanzan Ishibashi and former Cabinet Minister Ichiro Kono opposed the treaty in its present form. Kono turned down Premier Kishi's offer of a Cabinet seat in return for support of the treaty. Ishibashi urged that ratification discussion be postponed until after the Summit meeting.

FLIGHT WORSENED MATTERS: Kishi is trying to push ratification through before Eisenhower's visit to Japan on June 19, but the **Times** reported (May 15) that powerful leaders in his own party are opposing it. It said "an overwhelming majority of vocal Japanese" are demanding removal from Japan of the "black jet," as the U.S. reconnaissance plane U-2 is called in Japan, because they refuse "to accept at façe value [U.S.] assurances that the U-2's will be used only for legitimate weather observations."

Even before the May Day flight of the U-2, U.S. policy was failing to shore up—at the expense of the American taxpayer—Washington's more disreputable allies, and was alienating such friends as the British and the Scandinavians; the flight made things worse.

If the Summit meeting is canceled, or postponed, it will be even more urgent immedately to reconvene the recessed nuclear ban test conference and reach an agreement on test suspension. This could help restore America's good name, set the pattern for a gradual disarmament agreement, and reopen the road to coexistence and peace.

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BOOKS

The forces for war

Two old pros in the fields of the economics and diplomacy of militarism—Victor Perlo, author of The Empire of High Finance, *and Carl Marzani, former State Dept. and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) aide—have gotten together on a highly timely book published this month,* Dollars and Sense of Disarmament *(Marzani & Munsell, 100 W. 23rd St., N. Y. 11. 240 pp. $1.95, paper; $3, cloth.) In 16 carefully researched and documented chapters distributed into seven general sections, the authors present the case for national prosperity and world progress through disarmament, and set forth the who and why of the big business opposition led by the Rockefeller family.*

Following are excerpts from the chapter titled "The War Hawks," from the section "Who Blocks Disarmament?":

AMONG THE FORCES in America which oppose disarmament, the most powerful, beyond doubt, are those financial and business interests who feel it is impossible for socialism and capitalism to coexist. The most ardent exponent of this view was James Forrestal, the banker who drove through the unification of American armed forces and became the first Secretary of Defense. Forrestal's obsession with the Russians was so profound that it finally led to his mental breakdown, running naked down the street shouting "The Russians are coming!" He was hospitalized and, as is known, committed suicide by leaping out of a window when the guard over him was relaxed.

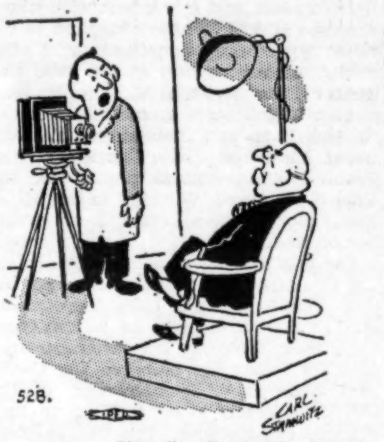
In the current American scene Forrestal's equal seems to be Nelson Rockefeller, oil magnate and Governor of New York. Without wishing to impugn Rockefeller's patriotism, it is easy by background for him to identify family interests with American national interests. For the Rockefeller family is deeply involved in the American corporations that control the oil of the Near East . . .

THE WRITERS BELIEVE that the current campaign to raise the military budget has the political objective of undermining the disarmament negotiations. But there is also involved a narrowly selfish and unclean motive—the attempt of interested parties to make money out of war. And we will show, in the example of a single company, the uniting of pro-war industrialists, scientists, politicians, and militarists in a shameful quest for dollars at the expense of the country's real security.

Our example is General Dynamics, one of the two largest defense contractors in the country. It manufactures the Atlas ICBM, nuclear submarines, and other products. Therefore it stands to profit specially from the immediate drive for an arms boost, which centers around an increase in Atlas procurement.

The chairman of General Dynamics is Frank Pace, Jr. Pace is of a wealthy and politically prominent Arkansas family. A lawyer, he spent most of his life in government jobs, first in Arkansas, then in wartime military staff posts, then in the Truman Administration. Winning the favor of generals during World War II, he was catapulted by Truman into the major job of Director of the Budget, and then made Secretary of the Army.

In a sense Pace combines the background of the capitalist, the politician, and the militarist all in one. He was the logical man to be tapped for a top job with the up and coming munitions company, Electric Boat, which soon became General Dynamics through the absorption of the major aircraft manufacturer Consolidated Vultee.



Stamwitz, Signalman's Journal

"Smile, Mr. Morebucks! . . . Think of your profits this year—your tax loopholes—anti-union legislation—."

GENERAL DYNAMICS' BOARD of directors consists about 50 per cent of former military men, A.E.C. and Defense Department officials, and military scientists. It carries on its payroll 186 retired high-ranking military officers, more than any other company. Its large stockholders are not publicly known, except for the prominent financier Floyd Odlum. Presumably other large stockholders are members or clients of the Wall Street house of Lehman Brothers, which acts as investment banker for General Dynamics and is represented on its board of directors . . .

Mr. Pace, missile salesman, considers that the desire of people to live is a "psychological and semantic weakness" played on by the Russians! The political reason for disregarding this instinct for survival, according to Pace, is: ". . . a potential enemy who has the capability and the announced intention of striking a series of catastrophic blows at times and places of his own choosing."

It just so happens that Mr. John Foster Dulles, not the Russians, made the threat of massive retaliation in almost exactly those words.

NOW LET'S TIE IN the militarist scientists. Certainly Edward Teller leads the pack. We have seen how he organized the tendentious Rand Corporation calculations which were made use of by those attempting to scuttle a ban on nuclear bomb tests. Known as "father of the H-bomb," Teller is a tireless advocate of this genocidal weapon. The Armed Services Subcommittee headed by Rep. Hebert disclosed that Teller receives $1,000 per day for consulting munitions manufacturers, and that General Dynamics is his leading employer. In one year he received $25,000 from General Dynamics.

A protege of Teller's, nuclear weapons scientist Frederic de Hoffman, is vice president of General Dynamics, in charge of its atomic department.

NEXT COME the politicians. Senator Symington is one of the two most active Congressional tub-thumpers for more armaments. During World War II he was president of the Emerson Electric Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, which became substantial through military business. Subsequently he became Secretary of the Air Force in the Truman Administration, and then Senator from Missouri.

He maintained very close relations with Floyd Odlum, at that time in control of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. Odlum and Symington arranged for the hiring of Air Force General J. T. McNarney, who as a top procurement officer had been a consistent champion of Consolidated bombers. McNarney is still a director and top official of the successor corporation, General Dynamics.

In 1949 Symington picked up an obscure Idaho newspaper editor, Thomas George Lanphier Jr., and made him a personal assistant in Washington. After a year and a half he placed him with what is now General Dynamics, where Lanphier became vice president and assistant to the president at $60,000 per annum plus . . .

A month later Lanphier resigned from General Dynamics to campaign "more freely" for a $4-billion-per-year rise in arms spending, and to support Symington for the Presidency . . .

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Cue

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Ernest B. Benne

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SHOP GBS, p. 12

SUPPORT ASKED

Cleveland T-H case taken to High Court

CLEVELAND TAFT-HARTLEY defendants petitioned the Supreme Court May 20 for a writ of certiorari reviewing the convictions of the seven in January, 1958. The convictions were upheld early this year by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in a brief ruling upholding the decision of the trial judge but failing to comment on the defendants' accompanying motion for a new trial based on the charge that the government's principal witness was a perjurer.

The defendants include Fred and Marie Reed Haug and Eric Reinthaler, all past union leaders, and four others with whom they are alleged to have conspired to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. Among counsel at the trial was former Rep. Stephen M. Young, later elected U.S. Senator from Ohio. Counsel for the group now include Jack G. Day, noted Cleveland civil liberties lawyer, Frank Donner, general counsel for the United Electrical Workers union (UE), and Victor Rabinowitz and David Scribner of New York.

The Supreme Court petition challenges the use of perjured testimony and the government's tactic of using the conspiracy laws as a dragnet to jail militant unionists and others. The American Civil Liberties Union has attacked the Cleveland trials as a demonstration of the use of a "legally loose" weapon to curb unpopular minorities. The Haugs were leaders in the Progressive Party.

N.Y. RALLY MAY 24

3 Congressmen ask clemency for Sobell

THREE CONGRESSMAN have sent messages of support for executive clemency for Morton Sobell, in whose behalf a panel discussion of the case, presided over by a New York University law professor, is being held Tuesday, May 24, in the New York Community Church, 35th St. at Park Ave., New York City.

One of the Congressmen, Rep. Randall S. Harmon (D-Ind.), is scheduled to be one of the panelists at the meeting. In addition, Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.) wrote that he had written to the President asking a new trial for Sobell; and Rep. John Blatnik (D-Minn.) offered his "fullest support" for any action in Sobell's behalf.

Sobell was convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951 of conspiracy to commit espionage. The only witness against him, Max Elitcher, failed to link Sobell with any alleged conspiracy and admitted that he himself was under threat of prosecution for failing to disclose Communist affiliations in obtaining a government job. Elitcher was never prosecuted after appearing as the government's sole witness against Sobell.

Participants in the Community Church panel discussion May 24, in addition to Rep. Harmon, will be Norman Thomas, the Rev. Thomas Kilgore, civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn, author and critic Dwight Macdonald, and Mrs. Helen Sobell. The chairman will be Prof. William Kunstler, N.Y.U. professor and moderator of the radio program **Pro & Con** over station WMCA, New York City.

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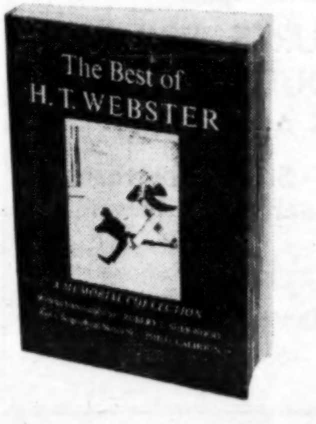

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

SOVIET FILMS. See & Discuss: Thurs., Fri., Sat., May 26, 27, 28 "True Friends" (satire on bureaucrats by Kalatozov, "Cranes Are Flying" director); Thurs., Fri., Sat., June 2, 3, 4 Gogol's "The Inspector-General." Cross World Books, 333 S. Wacker Dr. (nr. Van Buren), 5th floor. 8:15 p.m. $1, students 60c. HA 7-1042.

LOS ANGELES

Testimonial Dinner National Lawyers Guild honoring charter member **J. ALLAN FRANKEL**, Fri., June 3rd, Biltmore Hotel. $12.50 plate. For reservations phone: Hollywood 9-4114.

SAN DIEGO

EYE WITNESS REPORT ON CUBA
Hear **AL RICHMOND**, Executive Editor of People's World, just returned from Cuba, Sat., May 28, 8 p.m., 4561 North Av. Refreshments. Admission free. Ausp: San Diego Committee for a Free Press.

BOSTON

You are invited to hear
GUS HALL, Gen. Secy., Communist Party speak on **THE 1960 ELECTIONS**. Time: Sat., June 4, 8 p.m. Place: Bradford Hotel. Admission Free. Sponsor: Mass. Labor Forum, Lew Johnson, Chairman.

FARRELL DOBBS, Ntl. Secy., Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba speaks
"THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA"
Wed. May 25 8:15 p.m.
Auspices: Boston Labor Forum
295 Huntington Av., Room 200

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS OF GUARDIAN
discuss
"THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY":
Progress Report on Southern USA, S. Africa and in Philadelphia
Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m. Boulevard Bldg., 4322 No. Broad St. Reports by: **REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH**, who just toured the South; **ROBERT C. QUEEN**, Ed. & Mgr. of Phila. **Courier**; an African Student now studying here. Entertainment opens program. Donation at door.

An "Evening on Cuba"
FRIDAY, MAY 27, 8:30 p.m. sharp
ADELPHIA HOTEL, Chestnut & 13 Sts. **Sue Carr**, Phil. delegate to last month's **Havana** Congress of Cuban Socialist Youth, reports her trip. Late films & colored slides will be shown. Tickets advance 2 for $1.50; at door & singles $1; unemployed & students half price; children w. parents free. Tickets & further information contact: James Dolsen, 2018 N. 32 St., Phil 21, Phone: CEnter 2-0512

NEW YORK

Wed., Thurs., Fri., May 25, 26, 27
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Hear Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, **Farrell Dobbs**, speak on "The Cuban Revolution As I Saw It," Fri., May 20, 8:30 p.m. Auspices: The Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contrib. $1.

THE COMMITTEE TO PRESENT TRUTH ABOUT THE NAME "NEGRO" invites you to a LECTURE-DISCUSSION on the name "NEGRO": Its origin, purpose, and evil use, to be given
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CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.
Former Member Polit. Advisory Group on US-USSR Joint Comm. Unify Korea Speaks on "Recent Korean Events & the Cold War," **FRI., MAY 20**, 8:45 P.M. **PLACE**: BENSONHURST COMMUNITY CENTER, 2018 86 St., Bklyn. Adm. Free. Ausp: Bensonhurst Jewish Frat. Society.

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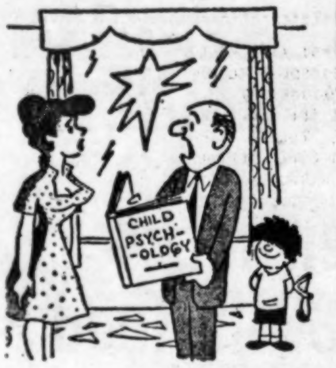

London Daily Mirror
"According to this I should let HIM spank ME!"

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DALTON TRUMBO

The secret of freedom

The Teachers Union of New York at its annual luncheon April 9 presented to Dalton Trumbo, screen writer, its Annual Award "for his creative gifts as a writer and his stalwart stand against the un-American blacklist." Excerpts of Trumbo's acceptance speech follow.

THE TERRIBLE THING that has happened to us during the oathing 50's is that we have been so strongly engaged in swearing what we aren't, that we have altogether forgotten what we actually are. The fevers of the cold war not only left us without identity but they have also robbed us of our original sense of moral purpose. Thus, decent men and women, persons with intelligence, good will and high aspirations, having subscribed to the expediency of the negative oath, have been compelled to accept expediency as a way of life.

The expediency runs in this fashion: Unless the Federal government assumes more responsibility for public health, the nation will be fatally weakened in the struggle against communism. Or, the Walter-McCarran Act must be repealed because it provides communists with anti-American propaganda. Or, slums breed communism, so we must have an adequate housing program. Or, American Negroes must be granted complete equality under the law or else we shall lose our ideological struggle with the Kremlin.

No longer do we demand social progress because it is good, because it is just, because millions of our people have suffered and their dignity as human beings belittled. Not at all. We demand it because it is expedient. And so long as a negative oath generation persists in negative action for an objective negatively stated and desired, just so long will they fail in this and in the purposes for which this nation was founded.

NATURALLY, THE DEMANDS of the negative oath and the consequent censorship of negative ideas is nothing new. Since the time of Socrates writers and teachers have been scuttling across national borders with the police hot on their trail and always they have found the police most active in time of war, cold war, or national turmoil, Dante, Rousseau, Voltaire, Defoe, Victor Hugo, John Bunyan, Dostoyevsky, Heinrich Heine, Thomas Mann, Feuchtwanger—the list of literary jailbirds or fugitives is endless. Indeed, there are times in history when the natural residence of the artist, the writer and the teacher appears to be either exile or jail.

REACTION
PROGRESS

Neither can it be said that the censor is unique to our own country or to our particular form of government. The English monarchy, in terms of freedom of expression, is probably the most liberal in the world today. Yet only 35 years ago the British sent Bertrand Russell to jail for a year. And only in the last war have they begun to weaken the power of censorship over the theater, which provided Shaw with material for some of his liveliest vituperation.

In the French Republic, citadel of republican freedom, the stresses of the Algerian war have produced an occasional confiscation of whole issues of the press and the suppression of entire books.

Nor has socialism been able to solve the problem of the artist and his ideas in relation to the authority of the state. The Soviet Union, too, has imprisoned writers and suppressed books and the fury against the heretics has left its imprint upon the culture.

AS THE COLD WAR diminishes, the ideological chances are that the United States and the Soviet Union will find ways to communicate with each other with somewhat less invective than formerly, and as the desire for peace and disarmament turns from mere hankering to a most imperative necessity, the internal hysteria within each of the nations likewise diminishes.

American artists and teachers are drifting back to their former positions in society, not as swiftly as we would wish, but still in what is the beginning of significant numbers. The plays of Boris Pasternak have been steadily produced in Moscow during all the uproar over **Dr. Zhivago** and although the book has not yet been published in the language in which it was written, there are hints that soon it will be, and we find Russian intellectuals occasionally taking up bats against their bureaucrats and bureaucracy with all the fervor of a midwestern revival.

If we have learned anything during the postwar years, it is the lesson that in all generations from the first one to our own, each has had to learn for itself. No government offers freedom as a gift. The struggle for freedom of expression, for freedom of ideas, must be won in all periods and in all countries. So long as a man persists in his wonderful ability and his remarkable capacity to disagree with his fellows, freedom must be fought for, now and in the future, here and everywhere.

THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS IDEAS, good ideas, bad ideas, wicked ideas, crazy ideas, impossible ideas—this is the most precious right the individual can have. And the interesting thing is that in the course of securing it for himself he must inevitably guarantee it to his enemy. Otherwise, there can be no freedom for anyone.

There are going to be wider areas of freedom in this country and in the world as the Cold War diminishes. But no matter how pleasant the relaxation of governmental interference with the writer and the teacher may seem, it will be wasted if we do not use it to re-awaken the old American custom of fighting City Hall.

Upon your shoulders, particularly upon the shoulders of teachers and education, lies the noble burden of encouraging the habit of inquiry once more. Inquiry into everything. That is where the secret of freedom is found: to inquire, to question, to doubt, to dispute, to challenge. These are the rights we have compromised for ourselves, and which we must re-establish for our children.

(The Gallery will return to this space next week)

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DR. LINUS PAULING, in a letter to the New York **Times** Sept. 13, 1959, offered a practical suggestion to offset the ravages of Strontium-90. Since Strontium-90 finds its way into the bone structure in place of calcium, Dr. Pauling suggested adding to the normal diet a calcium compound free of Strontium-90. Dr. Pauling's recommendation is based on the known "discrimination factor" between calcium and strontium in the human intestine. The calcium prevents part of the Strontium-90 from leaving the intestine and getting into the blood stream. Once in the blood stream Strontium-90 collects in the bones and deadly radioactivity begins its damage. But when imprisoned in the intestine it passes out of the body as waste.

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the SPECTATOR

Bob Cohen's world

WHEN WE WANDERED into the "beat" coffee house on Sunset Strip a year ago, there were the most unlikely bold placards on the entry walls telling us there would be shown that night a documentary film of China by Robert Cohen, who had gone with 41 other young Americans to visit China after the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival. Cohen shot the trip for NBC-TV and made the film from his total footage when he got back to New York that winter.

He first showed it on Nov. 1, 1958, in San Francisco to a "Town Hall" audience of 1,500; since then he has shown it to nearly 30,000 people in 26 cities throughout the country. And in a dozen radio and television shows he has reached an estimated 300,000 Americans.

Despite the government's Red China scowl, the film draws capacity crowds everywhere: in coffee houses, lecture halls, churches and university and city auditoriums. Cohen has had no difficulty in finding people willing to let him show it. After his first San Francisco showing—and full reviews by every major critic—the University of California at Los Angeles gave him his first big triumph: at Royce Hall two successive showings in March, 1959, drew over 2,500 people. Shortly after that, a national agency booked him on a series of cross-country film-lecture tours.

COHEN HAS NO MONEY—only a photographer's eye, training, courage and persistence. He has a balanced approach and an intelligent way of answering questions, and he is telling a story that our press has not yet faced up to: that the Peking regime is bringing health, food, education and the industrial revolution to the Chinese people; that it has liberated them from centuries of feudal restrictions, and this program not only has the support of the people, but is **demanded** by them.

On that first night on Sunset Strip, Cohen stepped forward dressed in a Chinese worker's blue jacket, the national uniform, and told his story simply, and showed the film—a striking work done with pace and beauty and good human feeling.

We saw thinly-clad men and boys rebuilding the Great Wall with new grey bricks; a modern children's hospital in Peking; and we went into a slum area, where we learned about the newly-introduced sanitation which is resulting in a fast-falling infant mortality rate.

We met a couple of American GIs, prisoners from Korea; interviewed Chou En-lai; visited poor villages and beautiful Hangchow, with its magical, 2,300-year-old man-made West Lake. We went into a prison, saw the men working foot-pumped printing presses (for near-normal wages which they are allowed to send home to their families), and saw one of the daily political re-education sessions.

We covered 7,000 miles before getting back to Peking for the October First festivities, National Day, celebrating the 1949 victory over Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang.

NOW THIS FIRST AMERICAN "to take pictures of China at less than 60,000 feet" as he was described recently at Stanford, has another scoop: last summer he hacked through a tangle of red tape to tour East Germany for 11 weeks, shooting 10,000 feet of color film. He cut it to a film of over an hour, and showed it first in Chicago's Orchestra Hall before 1,400 people. It is the first and only comprehensive film on East Germany being shown in America.

The film takes you into the main cities of East Germany, shows the rusting and overgrown barbed wire of the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps, along with the international memorials to Hitler's victims there and at Ravensbrueck; the young people, farmers, workers and Communist leaders; old feudal Junker estates broken up into cooperative farms; the new, huge coal mines, power plants and ship yards; and fascinating sequences of **Mother Courage** and other Bertolt Brecht plays in the Brecht Theater.

Bob Cohen, not yet 30, grew up in Philadelphia and Los Angeles, took his B.A. in 1952, and his M.A. in film work at UCLA in 1954. Then he served two years in the Army, partly at Fort Monmouth as a TV director, partly as a NATO newsreel cameraman at SHAPE in Paris. Mustered out in 1956, he enrolled at the Sorbonne, and joined a student delegation going to the Moscow Youth Festival.

—Pete S. Steffens

LOS ANGELES

THE FIRST AND ONLY DOCUMENTARY FILM LECTURE ON LIFE IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TODAY

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with

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SPECIAL NOTICE!!!

Due to the recent anti-Jewish demonstrations, Mr. Cohen will present for your personal inspection neo-Nazi newspapers now being sold openly throughout West Germany!!!